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Lebzure, *Kunwase* (You-do-not-stroke-a-snake), son of *Lebkura*. In his time we fired arrows at the people on the Tong hills; there was a famine and we used to rob them. All the people, except Winkonɔ and Sia, rose against us, saying we were too proud. *Kunwase* was succeeded by *Kundizore* (Water-cannot-pull-down-a-hill), a son of *Sapelega*. There was also a war in his time which arose out of a quarrel during a hunting expedition, in which Bade and Yazore had taken part. Small-pox (called *Naba*, the Chief) also broke out in his time. *Kundizore* was succeeded by *Nalebseyo* (It-will-change-to-the-wet-season), son of *Kabu*. He was succeeded by *Pilibazaa* (Cover-them-all), son of *Bupaa*. During his time the Europeans came. *Pilibazaa* was taken by the white men to Gambaga and asked to pay two hundred cows because the Tɔng people had fired arrows at them (the Europeans). He died at Gambaga and was succeeded by *Kunbanbeo* (Cannot-know-to-morrow), a son of *Kundizore*. He was succeeded by *Yirisano* (Destroyer-of-compounds), alias *Dentele*, a son of *Lebenwana*. In his time the Europeans came and asked the Hill-people (Teŋ-zugu) to come and see them, but they refused. He was succeeded by myself, *Kpama*, son of *Pilibazaa*. I brought my father's bones from Gambaga, and they were buried outside his compound.'

The above list comprises twenty-eight names, and, with other similar genealogies, supplies us with an approximate estimate of the time when the foreigners from Mampurugu first extended their influence to embrace this area. The names of these Chiefs as here given are their titles only; it is forbidden to mention their real names. Such nicknames are called *sam-wur* in Talene, *saan-yure* in Nankane.

The ruling house at Tɔngo belongs to the *gwegmere* (lion) clan. When I recorded the above and the other histories which follow I had not as yet grasped the full significance of what I came to discover later, namely, that in recording the history of these migrations as supplied by the Chiefs, I was really only tracing the origins of a minute section of the population, i.e. of those who formed the upper ruling class, and not of their subjects, who formed the mass of the people. In consequence I am unable, in the present instance, to specify the clans to which the majority of the inhabitants of the 'towns', already given, really belong. In my notebooks I find these clans, in nearly every case, recorded as 'the lion clan'. This is only due, however, to my having fallen into the error of failing to distinguish between rulers and ruled, and imagining the histories told me by Chiefs and their following to be applicable also to their subjects. I do not make any apology however,

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NAMNAM

'Any one who fights with guns we call *Kambonse*. *Pubuge* was succeeded by *Isaka*—we Dagomba were accustomed to give such Mohammedan names to our children. No European had as yet come to our country. We kept in touch with Naleregu, and our Chiefs receive the red fez from Naleregu to this day. *Isaka* was succeeded by *Konteem* (Fail-to-think). He was succeeded by *Bazirene* (They-do-not know that). He was succeeded by *Lamsin*, *Dayi*, *Kapeon*, *Too*, *Yelazoo* (Palavers-in-plenty), *Zure*, and *Nwena*. In his (*Nwena's*) time, the white man came; we fired at them with arrows as they passed. *Nwena* was succeeded by *Ti* (Tree); a tree was his *segere*. During his time, the Europeans asked him to make a road between Navaro and Bawku, but he refused. *Ti* was killed by his own people, because they thought he was conspiring with the Europeans. I myself, *Zuru II*, ran to Bawku and thence to Gambaga and came with Captain Welim (Wheeler?) and we fought and many people were killed; after which peace came.

'Our ancestors were Dagomba,[1] now we are all Namnam. We marry with Kusase, Gruse, Talense. We formerly circumcised.[2] Our ancestors had no marks, but now we tattoo like the Nankanse. I was cut at Do, near Bono. Namnam women have a special marking called *ta velim* (lit. fine marks), running from the nose across the cheeks and round the neck ending on the shoulders.'

Clans: 'The clan (*bura*) of Chiefs is the big-snake clan, *Wa'tetaam* (python). All the fifteen Chiefs who preceded me were of this clan. A python once showed an ancestor where to get water. The people have their own clans.'[3]

Namnam Towns under Nangode: Nangoot (where the head Chief lives), Peluno, Damologo, Tendono, Logode, Dagelega, Zanleregu, Son, Dakyigu, Mosi, Kono, Dobila, Sapare, Dasablego, Gono, Zoga, Yokote, Nyoboka.[4] Each of these towns is known as a *teya*.

Constitution of Namnam Teya: Each *teya* is divided into a number of *yi zut* (sing. *yi zugo*) sections; each section is under a *yi-zu-kpwema* (Elder of a section); all the sections are under one *Kambon-nab* appointed by the head Chief. The head Chief, an exceptionally fine

[1] He does not make any distinction between Mamprusi and Dagomba.

[2] The Namnam women have the clitoris removed at the age of puberty.

[3] I, unfortunately, went down with fever and had to cut short my stay with the Namnam before I had made a record of these.

[4] Datoko, Namoo, Sakote, and Dusi are Namnam settlements, but not under the Chief of Nangode.

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Kusase

Five to six months after birth

the infant will be named. A soothsayer may tell the father that a certain *Wen* (Nankane *Yini*), either his own, his father's, or grandfather's, wants the child as its *segr* (Nankane *segere*). The father will then take flour-water and a fowl and a guinea-fowl and offer them on that shrine, and after doing so, give the child some of the flour-water to drink. When sacrificing, he will speak as follows:

'"Here is an infant which I have begotten; you have said you want it; do not let a hawk (a witch) catch it; guard it well; if it grows and lives and walks by itself, I will give you a beast." After the infant has been given the flour-water to drink, the mother holds it and the father will name it after the object which is the abode of the spirit in the shrine, the *baŋa* (bangle) or whatever it may be, the infant's hand touching this thing while he names it.

'Later, the mother of the mother of the infant will ask that her daughter and grandchild may visit them, and, if the soothsayer says that they may do so, they will go to her for from three to five months.

'A man does not cohabit with his wife for two to three years, or even more, after she has borne a child; it depends on how soon the child is walking about. A child born with any teeth was formerly killed. Twins (*Ki kiris*) which die as infants are considered to have been fairies and are buried in the bush. A dead infant is buried in an ordinary grave near a path, a piece of potsherd being placed over the ear to keep out earth, the grave being filled in and a stone put on top to mark the place. "It is buried near a path so that it may find its way back to the compound for food; if it were buried far away in the bush it would get lost." A stillborn child, if formed, is buried as described above; if not formed, it is put in a pot and buried on the kitchen midden. A woman who dies in childbirth is not given a funeral custom; she is buried in the bush in an oblong-shaped grave which is then filled in. The husband will bathe for three days with leaves and the third day will shave his head. "The reason that the woman is buried far away is because, the husband if he saw her grave would die, and if he took part in any funeral custom for her he would die."'

Kusase Marriage Customs:

'If a man has already paid cows and discovers later that his wife is barren, he cannot claim them back. If, however, he has not yet paid them, he may then refuse to give them, in which case her father may take her away, but even then she may run back to her husband.'

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618 778 Duunkpalɔg in the corporate life of Zubiuŋ can be judged from the frequency of the personal name Duun. This name is given to every child placed under the spiritual guardianship of this *Bɔŋar*. There is not a [551] single family in Zubiuŋ without at least one child named Duun.

618 764 All the reciprocal duties and privileges of the three maximal lineages testify to the unity of Zubiuŋ as a clan. To cite funerals again, when a death occurs in one of the lineages it is the duty of the representatives of the other two to conduct the main rites and to give general help and supervision, according to the maxim '*sunzɔp m-maan ycla*—brother-lineages look after one's (ceremonial) affairs'. At the funeral ceremonies of the head of one of the maximal lineages it is obligatory for the other two maximal lineages to be represented by their heads, through whom they must send the prescribed food contributions. In return for their services and support these two maximal lineages are entitled to receive prescribed portions of the animals slaughtered in honour of the deceased, and of the beer and cooked food distributed at the funeral.

Ritual Differentiation and Integration of Zubiuŋ

618 778 794 At the same time, each maximal lineage has a large and jealously guarded measure of autonomy relative to its two *sunzɔ* lineages. This is most conspicuously embodied in the ritual office of tendaana (Master, or Custodian, of the Earth). Each of the three lineages has its own tendaana-ship, held by the head (*kpeem*) of the lineage. This office is primarily associated with the cult of the Earth (*tɛŋ*) in its mystical aspect, whose shrines (*tɔŋgbana*) are the sacred spots found in profusion throughout the Mole-Dagbane culture area. An Earth shrine (*tɔŋgban*) may be a grove of trees, a pool, a stream, a pile of boulders, a single tree, or merely a small bare patch in the midst of cultivated fields. In the settled parts of Taleland half a mile's walk along any foot-path takes one past two or three *tɔŋgbana*, so numerous are they.

778 782 *Tɔŋgbana* do not all rank equally, though all are equally the shrines of the Earth. At Zubiuŋ the most important *tɔŋgbana* come under the joint custody of all three maximal lineages. On important ceremonial occasions in which the clan acts as a corporate unit, such as the installation of a new tendaana, all three tendaanas and their elders assemble to perform sacrifices at these *tɔŋgbana*. One of these, Zukɔk, is supreme over all the Earth shrines of Zubiuŋ. It symbolizes the Land of Zubiuŋ (*Zubiuŋ tɛŋ*), the local subdivision of the Earth-as-a-whole in its mystical aspect, with which Zubiuŋ is directly connected. This is another focus of clan unity.

618 182 771 We shall later elucidate more fully the complex relationship of these two religious foci of clan unity among the Talis. It must suffice to say that, at Zubiuŋ, Duunkpalɔg, the *Bɔŋar*, and Zukɔk, symbolizing the Earth, are mystically coupled together but not identical. In doctrine and in rite they form the polar principles of a single religious system. Together they constitute the axis, as it were, around which the religious ideas and values of the natives are constructed. In relation to the structure of lineage and clan *Bɔŋar* and *tɛŋ* work as complementary values and sanctions. When either is the centre of a rite or ceremony, homage is paid to the other as well. In all corporate ceremonies, such as those accompany-

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776 is to pay over the gifts and sacrifices he has promised the *Bɔyar* in return.
788 Later, when the child is old enough to travel, it is brought to the *Bɔyar* to be ritually dedicated to it and named, and thus brought into communion with it. Wards of the *Bɔyar* have prescribed names according to
● [551] their order of birth. First-borns are always Tɔŋ or Bɔyare; later children have names compounded of these two names and suffixes indicative of sex or birth order—Tɔndoog or Tɔnpɔk or Tanzoo, and so forth. A girl
[582] ward must remain chaste until she marries; and when she is given in marriage she has to be released from this bond by means of gifts and sacrifices to the *Bɔyar* before she goes to her husband.

769 The ritual dominion of the Hill Talis' External *Bɔya* extends, also, to
648 whole clans and lineages of non-Tale tribes as we shall see later. Here
574 it is enough to mention that every External *Bɔyar* of the Hill Talis has a traditional network of client lineages and clans among the adjacent non-Tale tribes, the Mamprusi, Dagomba, Bulisi, Woolisi, and even Mossi; and nowadays also in Ashanti and the Colony. Every year, at the time of the Harvest Festivals, these client lineages send messengers with gifts and sacrifices to the *Bɔyar* to which they adhere, to give thanks for the benefits of the past year and to pray for good crops, good health, peace, and offspring during the coming year. Client lineages also observe the totemic and other ritual rules of the *Bɔyar*. From time to time reciprocal visits are paid to the client lineages by representatives of the Hill Talis
[609] lineages that sponsor them before the *Bɔyar*. These visitors, coming as emissaries of the *Bɔyar*, are received with the hospitality due to honoured kinsmen and travel long distances in hostile country under the safe conduct of their client associates without danger. It is chiefly from its client lineages that pilgrims come to a particular *Bɔyar*.

784 The personal totemic avoidances of wards of a Talis *Bɔyar* are instances
776 of a more general rule. It often happens that a child's spirit-guardian is a
184 matrilateral ancestor or ancestress, its father's maternal grandfather, for instance. Then the ward (*sɪyɔraan*) is obliged to observe the totemic avoidances which were held by his spirit-guardian during the latter's lifetime. He must do so, according to native doctrine, because he will have to offer sacrifices throughout his lifetime to his spirit-guardian; and as a sacrifice is an act of communion, both between the living, and between the living and the dead, he would be unable either to offer or to partake of sacrifices to his spirit-guardian if he did not keep the latter's taboos. Thus he would nullify the bond of mystical tutelage and lay himself open to inevitable disasters. He would also gravely damage his relations with the agnatic descendants of his spirit-guardian, upon whom falls the duty of maintaining the cult of the latter's spirit and whom he will sometimes have to join in sacrifice. There are many people among the Namoos who observe Talis taboos for this reason, and many Talis who avoid both the totems of their own clan and those of other clans as well. The fowl taboo of the Namoos is an exception to this rule, for the obvious reason that it is restricted to first-born children. Even if a man had to avoid the fowl in his lifetime, it ceases to be relevant after his death, and is no longer remembered by his descendants. But the rule does apply to the ancillary totems of those Namoo clans and lineages that have any, such as the

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is thinking of the country at large as a unit with respect to marriage customs. Hill Talis often describe Tongo, Zubiuŋ, and Zoo as one *tɛy*. They are thinking of the close bonds uniting these places in opposition to themselves. But Tongo, Zubiuŋ, and Zoo are always distinct *tɛs* to one another. Tɛnzugu is described as a single *tɛy* when the coherence and close interdependence of the group of clans inhabiting it are emphasized; but when their genealogical cleavages loom foremost they are designated as separate *tɛs*. In the struggle for political dominance now going on between the head of Kpata'ar and the head of Bunkiuk, the partisans of both bitterly denounce one another for 'breaking up the unity of the *tɛy*', but insist, at the same time, that each clan holds its *tɛy* in its own right and does not come under the jurisdiction of any other, according to native custom.

Underlying these variations in usage is the generic conception of *tɛy* as a locality defined in relation to a corporate unit of social structure, a lineage, clan, or interconnected group of clans; and the variation in the width of reference of the concept reflects the variation in the range of corporate solidarity that is effective in different situations. In war the Tɛnzugu clans all hold together; in the matter of marriage one of them might quite easily come into conflict with another. The confluence of local, lineage, and politico-ritual relations, as we have previously noted, is the keel of Tale social organization.

Tɛy, like all the key concepts of Tale social organization, has a ritual significance as well. It denotes the Earth in its mystical aspect, either in the generic sense or in the specific sense of a particular sacred spot and its precincts. What is a *tɛy* in the sphere of secular relations may be, but often is not, a *tɛy* in the system of religious beliefs. There are two aspects to locality as a correlate of social structure: the secular aspect and the sacred. They merge in the social organization and the social philosophy of the Tallensi, and consequently also in linguistic usage. Sometimes one aspect is the focus of a social activity, sometimes the other, sometimes both together. If a man repeats the conventional formula, '*Tɛy la pu sayat ziem la ni*—The Earth does not permit bloodshed', his exclusive reference to the mystical aspect of the Earth is obvious; if he says of another settlement or region, '*Ba tɛy la mar ki pam*—Their land has plenty of grain', he is thinking solely of the material and secular denotation of the word; if he says of Ba'ari, '*Bam tɛy kuob la pu dara*—In their settlement farms are not sold', his implication to anyone familiar with native beliefs is that it is a taboo of the Earth (in its mystical character) at Ba'ari to sell parcels of the earth (in its material character).

Postponing for the moment the further elucidation of these ideas, we may note their most commonplace expression in Tale custom. A settlement name is *ipso facto* the name of the clan or group of maximal lineages whose home it is. A custom arising out of the rule of clan exogamy is that of addressing a wife by an appellation indicating her clan of birth. Most often it is the clan place-name, e.g. Zubiena, Wakiiŋa. It may be the name of a well-known *tɔŋgbaŋ* in her natal settlement, e.g. Ba'ari women are called Saniiga, after the sacred grove of that name in Ba'ari. It may be a name indicating differences of custom and belief that distinguish her

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621 clan from her husband's, e.g. Namooga, the appellation used by Talis for
X618 their Tongo wives. Lastly, it may be a name taken from some politico-
351 ritual office vested in her clan or maximal lineage, e.g. Boyaraan, for Sii women, Tendaan-bii for Gbizug women. This shows how, without explicit formulation, the notions of locality, lineage, sacred attributes of the Earth, distinctive customs, and politico-ritual office—the major themes of Tale social and political organization—are linked together in a single ideological configuration.

The Section—Yizug

621 With the exception of the settlements of a few small clans not divided into maximal lineages of independent descent, all clan settlements are further divided into sections. The principles that regulate the structure of the settlement as a whole also determine the structure of its sections and of segments of these sections. This rests on the fact that the different orders of segmentation in the maximal lineage are serially homologous. An old-established settlement is the home of a clan or sub-clan. It is built up on the lineage system. All groupings and alinements that emerge in corporate affairs tend to follow lineage ties and cleavages. Thus, a section is a local subdivision of the *tɛŋ* occupied by a defined segment of the clan or maximal lineage. *Yizug* (pl. *yizugɔt*), the native term here translated by 'section', means literally 'Superior House',[1] and shows that the genealogical criterion predominates in the native definition of a section. Occasionally people speak of a *yizug* or part of a *yizug* as a *faay* (quarter, pl. *fɔna*), using a term more common among the Mamprusi, when they are thinking of it primarily as a residential unit.

In the new settlements, however, the *yizug* is predominantly a local subdivision. This is due to their genealogical heterogeneity and political immaturity. At Datɔk, for example, one finds Gorisi, Tallensi, and Namnam from many different clans, drawn thither by the need for land, and connected with one another not by lineage but by ties of extra-clan kinship and affinity. Moreover, before British rule brought security and gave the titular chief of Datɔk real authority over it, its population was small and largely temporary, and constituted a group of loosely associated neighbours, not a political community. In these circumstances the subdivision of the settlement on strictly local lines is inevitable, the more so as the present-day administrative organization is based on territorial groupings.

Primarily, a *yizug* is a localized lineage segment of a clan settlement. But, characteristically, the Tallensi often extend its reference to denote a whole clan, considered as a member of an interlocking group of adjacent clans that have a greater degree of political solidarity and social cohesion *inter se* than any of them have with other clans. Tenzugu, as we have seen, is the outstanding instance of such a community. Tenzugu elders often describe the six clans dwelling there as 'our six *yizugɔt*' when they recapitulate stories of fights with Tongo in the days of long ago. It is a phrase constantly heard in the invocations to the ancestor spirits

[1] *Yir*, 'house', *ɛr*, in this context, 'lineage', and *zug*, 'head', or by extension, 'superior, supreme'.

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as if the name could have a character moulding, — a soul shaping, as he might put it, — effect. Such names, moreover, make up a living record of notable events or persons or achievements in the father's life. 121

It is in this sense, mainly because of what they symbolise and record, that names and naming customs can be said to be part of a people's oral literature. There is no better testimony to this than in one of Professor WESTERMANN's own linguistic explorations, the enchanting life story which he recorded of the Ewe Bonifatius Foli[5]). It will be remembered that the story opens with Foli's explanation of how he came by his name. Had he been born a commoner, he says, he would have been called Kofi, the day name for a male born on Friday. But he was of chiefly descent and so received the corresponding aristocratic name, a name which no commoner would normally bear.

The ethnographical and linguistic writings on Africa abound with examples pertinent to my theme, but I want to illustrate it from my own field work among the Tallensi of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast[6]). All Tallensi are curious and alert in the matter of personal names. Early in my stay among them I once asked a young man what was the point of name giving. This is what he answered: "(The reason) why they give names is that you may know so-and-so and the other one, and know what he looks like; for if they did not confer names on you they would not know you." The name stands for the individual, is part of what marks him out from others. This feeling about the individuality of a name is shown in the delight with which Tallensi meet someone bearing the same name as themselves. Two persons with the same name call each other "*n-wu'uri*", (my name-sake) and exchange friendly banter. 551 [609]

The Tallensi have a technical term for the giving of a name, *pit wu'uri*, to confer a name; and this term has a cognate which, we shall see, is very revealing, *pɔt wu'uri* to utter or announce a name. Let us consider, first, the giving of names. This is quite a complex matter. I realised this shortly after arriving among the Tallensi, on the occasion of Ma'an-ɔb's funeral. Just before any burial, an elder offers a red cock to the dead with an invocation that he may depart and join his ancestors. I was struck by the fact that the elder, in this case, addressed the dead man as Yin, not as Ma'an-ɔb; and this led to a train of enquiries. 553

I thus discovered that a person can have, and very commonly does have two given names. One is his *wu'ur-zoo*, his open or everyday name; the other is his *seyeraan wu'uri*, his spirit-guardian name. It is the latter name that is invoked at death and on other ritual occasions in which a person's well being is at issue. It is the name used, for instance, when a person's evil Pre-destiny is exorcised[7]). It is not a secret name. Though it is not usually known outside the circle of his close kin, those who normally share with him in sacrifices to common ancestors of 551

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[5]) D. WESTERMANN, "Kindheitserinnerung des Togonegers Bonifatius Foli". *Mitt. d. Sem. f. Orient. Sprachen*, XXXIV, iii, 1931.

[6]) I have described much of the life and social organisation of the Tallensi in my two books *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi* (1945) and *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*, (1949).

[7]) For a fuller account of this notion and of the notion of the *seyer* see op. cit., *The Web of Kinship*, passim. See also R. S. RATTRAY, *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, vol. II. passim.

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551 his immediate household, it is willingly told to a *bona fide* enquirer. Nor is it a sacred name to be used, perhaps, only in religious contexts; for, as I have implied, the spirit-guardian name can, and often does serve also as the mundane name. It is, rather, a private name, symbolising a unique relationship of religious dependence and reciprocity between the ward and his ancestors. A person's *seyər* is the
551 ancestor or ancestress (or sometimes group of ancestors) who keeps spiritual
776 watch over the person's life, as the Tallensi put it. The *seyər* is an ancestor mystically located at a particular shrine whose status as an ancestor spirit is quite independent of his relationship with his namesake. Any ancestral shrine can be a *seyər* shrine to one or other descendant of the ancestor commemorated. As the guardian of the ward's life the *seyər* spirit has to receive sacrifices for and from the ward at certain crises, such as childbirth in the case of a woman, or whenever the spirit demands it; and, as follows logically, the *seyər* has to be informed and placated when the ward dies.

553 This is an over-simplified outline of what the notion of spirit-guardianship means
776 to the Tallensi but it must suffice. What we are here interested in is how a person comes by his *seyəraan* name and what such a name is likely to be. My friend Saγəbazaa summed the matter up. Your *wu'ur-zoo*, he said, is just "thought up" — *i tiih i pooni*; but your *seyər* name is a "command from a shrine" — *bayər n-yel* — given through a diviner. In conformity with the strong patriarchal character of Tale social organisation it is the right and duty of the father (or of the patrilineal head of his family such as his father or someone in that position if he is still alive) to name his children. It is he — sometimes following a suggestion from a son or brother — who thinks up the everyday name; and it is he, as head of the house, who consults the diviner to find which of the ancestors demands a child as spiritual ward. This demand may come before the child is born, incidentally to a consultation on other matters; or, if the prospective father is anxious, for instance, as often happens with his wife's first born, it may come out in a consultation held some time before the baby is due, mainly in order to find out which ancestors to appeal to for help for the woman in her condition. With later children it may be left for days or even a week or two after the birth of the child. At all events, it is in this consultation that an ancestor (or ancestress) "declares himself" as the new babe's spirit-guardian. It is, on the face of it, not a voluntary choice by the infant's father, but a behest which he cannot reject.

Anyhow, having ascertained his child's *seyər*, the father now returns home and makes a small offering to the shrine at which the ancestor has declared himself to reside in his role of spirit-guardian. The father may offer no more than a libation of flour stirred up in water (*zɔm-koom*) or he may offer a chicken as well. He prays that the ancestor may take good care of his new ward so that he may live long and prosper.

551 The child may henceforth be called by his *seyəraan* name; but if he also has an
776 open name, he will be known by that. In fact he is in a transitional state, as regards his spirit-guardian. It is a tentative relationship, as yet. The Hill Talis[8]) show this by calling every infant, at this stage, SAMPANA, a term used in no other context

[8]) See *The Dynamics of Clanship* for details.

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and probably best translated as "Baby". Proper guardianship is later fixed by a special ritual of dedicating the child to its spirit-guardian with a larger sacrifice of a sheep or a goat or other animal of that standing, which takes place at the first head-shaving of the child, generally when it is two or three years old. By then the child may have a successor in birth order and he will have proved himself to be under good guardianship by virtue of his survival. 551 776

But our concern is with the names themselves. What sort of names are these private ones? Some are immediately obvious to anyone who knows the language and culture of the Tallensi. These are names of particular kinds of ancestor shrines which all men have, or owe homage to, through their family or lineage head. Thus, one of the commonest Tale names is YIN[9]) or some compound of this root. It is the root of the word NAAYIN, literally Chief-God, that is the heavenly god. But more pertinently for the subject of names, it is the name for the shrine and the associated ancestors, powers, and votive objects that together make up the cult focus of what is thought of as the individual's Destiny. The best fortune a Taləŋa can have is to have many children; and if he is lucky in this respect it is attributed to the benevolence of his YIN. Thus it happens that some of a man's children are almost always claimed as wards by his YIN ancestors; and a census soon shows that there are few families in which one or more children are not called by the name YIN or a compound of this word. Like all Tale names, it can be borne by both males and females, and is, of course, both the *sɛɣəraan* name and the open name. 551 777

Since having children is so often interpreted as a sign of the benevolence of a person's YIN, it is not surprising to find that often a number of a man's children are the wards of his YIN. If they are all under the guardianship of the YIN "as such" they may all bear the name YIN but with affixes that help to distinguish one child from another. The following is a list of some of the commonest YIN names. They are taken from a list of names found among the children and grandchildren of one old man. 551 776

YIN: YIN-DOOG (lit. male Yin); YIM-PɔK (lit. female Yin); YIM-BIL (lit. little Yin); YIN-ZIE (lit. red Yin — because the child was light skinned); YIN-TEE (lit. Yin's tree — referring to one of the votive objects on the shrine); YIN-TEEBIL (lit. little Yintee).

Similar devices are used with other names that may be repeated among several children and grandchildren of one family; for a man's children may be successively given as wards to other ancestor figures than the YIN. Thus another common name that is both a private name and an open name is BɔɣAR and its compounds. Children so named may be the wards of the distant lineage ancestors mystically assembled at the central shrine of the lineage, the *bɔɣar*[10]), as it is called. But they are also so named because they are the spiritual wards of one of the Hill Talis "external"

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[9]) Cognate forms, in other dialects, are WUN, WENDE. I have given some account of the YIN concept in my previously mentioned books. YIN is also the name given to the first-born of a pair of twins, "because he is the first to see the heavens above". The second-born is called ZUUR, tail, "because he comes behind the first".

[10]) This is the supreme ancestral shrine of a clan or a lineage. See op. cit. *Dynamics of Clanship* for details.

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bɔyar centres. This happens when a woman is taken to the "external" *bɔyar* because she has no child, in order to supplicate for offspring. When, later, she bears a child, this child is dedicated to the *bɔyar* as a ward. The name shows this. In addition, however, each of the Talis "external" *bɔyar* centres has its own set of names for its wards. These names are used in exactly the same way as the general name BƆYAR. Both this general name and the particular names are modifiable in the same way as YIN is to distinguish several wards of the same shrine in one family or lineage. So we find the names BƆYA-BIL, BƆYA-ZIE, etc.; or to take a particular name, TƆŋ, TAN-DOOG, TƆŋ-PƆK, TAN-ZOO, etc. which are given to children who are wards of the Bunkyiug "external" *bɔyar*.

This procedure is followed for children who come under the spiritual tutelage of any shrine. For example, KOLOGO is the name given to a child who is the ward of a divining (*bakologo*) shrine and TƆBƆGA is the name for a child whose spirit guardian is an ancestor connected with a magical medicine often owned by senior elders; and there are many others. But this mode of naming does not account for all persons who are wards of *yin* or *bɔyar* or other shrines. Thus, in addition to the YINS, there were, among TINTA'ALƆM's children and sons' children, MƆRBU and MƆRBIL, BANTAŋ and BANTAMBILL, and all of these were the wards of the same *yin* shrine as the YINS.

The reason for this is typical. The most important ancestor spirit associated with TINTA'ALƆM's Destiny (*yin*) shrine was that of his own father MƆRBU. While some of the children were the wards of the *yin* "as such", the two MƆRBUS were specifically claimed as wards by their dead grandfather "sitting at" TINTA'ALƆM's *yin* as the Tallensi state it. They were his particular wards, but under his spiritual oversight through the medium of the *yin*. So they were given his name. Thus many people who have names other than YIN are the wards of ancestors associated with *yin* shrines and their names may be both private and open. The interesting point here is that the name thus given is that of an ancestor who received it not as a private name but as a *wu'ur-soo*. The original MƆRBU's *sɛyɛnaa* name was YIDAAN; but when he in turn became an ancestor it was his open name that was commemorated. This is the common practice, and the reason is obvious. Like the equivalent in European languages, the Tale word *wu'uri* means both "appellation" and "repute" or "renown". Now a person's repute is not a private matter. It is the public esteem in which he is held. He is remembered by his descendants — invariably with pride, whatever his true character might have been — by the public name he was known by. So we have the apparent paradox that it is the private name that carries some element of ritual value but when a person achieves the high status of an ancestor spirit he is commemorated in the shrines dedicated to him and in the names given to his descendants by his open — in this context perhaps we might say his profane — — name. Neighbours, friends and acquaintances of TINTA'ALƆM's family, hearing one of the children addressed as MƆRBU, at once recollect who is being commemorated. They would not associate the name YIDAAN with the man who was known to them and their fathers as MƆRBU.

Again, what applies to a Yin holds for other groupings of ancestors linked to specific ritual vehicles. A person whose spirit guardian is a *bɔyar* or a *bakologo* may be claimed by one of the group of ancestors to whom the shrine is dedicated and

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may be given his name; and the same rule applies to all cult groupings of ancestors, for example at *gu'on*, at *tobogu*, at *nayu-dok* and other shrines. 551 553

What about BANTAŊ and BANTAMBIL? This name literally translated means crocodile. It is one of very many animal names given to people and these again are part of the larger class of names taken from natural objects in general. Other names that fall into this class are NAAHO, cow or bull, BAA, dog, WAAFO, snake. They are very common either in their root forms or in the usual derivative forms. So are names like KURUG, iron, KUGƆR, stone, TEE, tree, and their compounds. There is nothing totemistic about such names. How they arise can best be made clear by an example. When TINTA'ALƆM was a youth he went on a communal fishing expedition and had the good fortune to catch a young crocodile. This is regarded as both a feat of skill and a sign of great good fortune. Not only is it difficult to catch crocodiles on these battues but it often happens that anybody who tries to catch one he has sighted gets bitten, and the consequences may be very serious. Men have lost limbs thus and some have even died as a result of such bites. So when TINTA'ALƆM got home his father at once took him off to consult a diviner. It emerged that the episode with the crocodile was a manifestation of TINTA'ALƆM's *yin*, specifically of his grandfather's wish to be recognised as one of his *yin* ancestors; and in due course, after the necessary rites had been done, the skull of the animal was placed on the *yin* shrine to commemorate and symbolise the event. The spirit of the crocodile caught on this expedition thus becomes one of the votive elements of the *yin*, and if the ancestor associated with the occasion claims a child as a ward it will be given the name BANTAŊ. 776

This is the standard pattern of belief and observance when a votive element is part of an ancestor shrine. Thus, to continue with TINTA'ALƆM's Yin, among its votive objects are a much worn hoe blade and the skull of a cow. The explanation is that TINTA'ALƆM was a hard working farmer. He prospered and was able, by occasional sales of surplus grain, gradually to acquire some livestock. In middle age his *yin* ancestors demanded a cow from him as a thank-offering — symbolically, the first cow he was able to acquire as the fruits of his good fortune. After the sacrifice, the cow's skull was placed on the *yin* shrine. But long before that, when TINTA'ALƆM had saved enough only to buy his first sheep, his *yin* had directed him to dedicate to it his hoe, the implement with which the good farmer gains his living. When his first hoe, the hoe he had bought for himself to cultivate his own land, were out he placed it on his *yin* shrine in dedication. 551 776 778

What happens in the case of a child of this family whose private name is NAAHO, cow, or KUUR, hoe, or KURUG, iron, is that one (or more) of the ancestors who have manifested themselves as watching over TINTA'ALƆM's Destiny — that is, as his *yin* — on demanding this child as a ward has declared the cow or the hoe have been his special vehicle. Sacrifices offered on behalf of the ward will be given to all the ancestors manifested in the *yin*, but the cow or the hoe blade will be particularly cited. 553 776 778

Similar ideas and beliefs are associated with other ritual vehicles of the ancestors. Thus one KURUG I knew was the spiritual ward of a divining (*bakologo*) shrine. His father had fallen ill shortly after shooting a python and this proved to be the manifestation of a matrilateral ancestor demanding recognition. Both the arrow

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553 776 778 head and the python skull were placed on the shrine that was eventually consecrated to the *bakologo* spirit and my informant's name was a reference to the arrow head. One of *his* sons taken in guardianship by the same shrine was named WAAFO, snake.

[775] This case is interesting from another angle, too. The Tallensi have no belief in reincarnation. There is no special bond between a person and his ancestral namesake. He is not supposed to resemble or expected to emulate his ancestor. His name is a display of pride in ancestry, on the one hand, and a sign of submission to the religious supremacy of the ancestors, on the other. Thus he has no special ritual observances, on account of his name, if he is the ward of a patrilineal ancestor.

[614] But if his *seyor* is a matrilateral ancestor, this person might have belonged to a clan different from his own. In that case he is often obliged to keep the totemic taboos of the clan of this ancestor. Thus in the above case it is not altogether an accident that the slain python turned out to be a manifestation of a matrilateral ancestor whose clan have a taboo against killing and eating this animal. Children taken in spirit-guardianship by this ancestor have therefore to observe the same taboo, whether or not it is followed by other members of their family and clan.

553 776 I do not want to follow further the complex ramifications of this aspect of Tale naming customs. One more detail must suffice. The greatest renown, that is the most respected *wu'uri*, comes from election to an office. A chief (*Na'ab*) or Custodian of the Earth (*Tendaana*) is always addressed and referred to by his title. After his death he is certain to have descendants through his sons, grandsons, and daughters, placed under his spiritual guardianship. They will be named either by the name he took to himself on election to his office, which I shall describe presently, or by his title. NA'AB, NA'ABƆK, TENDAANA, etc. are common names among descendants of such dignitaries.

And here it is pertinent to add that certain forms of disgrace which are associated with ritual danger result in the suppression of ancestral names. Thus if a man dies of smallpox, or is killed in war, his name is never given to a descendant. He will be remembered in sacrifices if he has descendants but not in their names.

●551 553 I want to turn now to the open names. Their variety is extraordinary. A few refer to accidental or conventional circumstances connected with the birth of the bearer and are therefore fairly frequent. ZIBA, knows not father, is the name always given to a posthumous child. SAMANE, the home farm, is a common name. It is given to a child whose mother was overcome by labour pains while engaged on some task on the home farm. SUOR, path, has the same origin. TAMPƆYAR, the garbage heap, may be the name given to a child born after the onset of labour pains at the ash heap. But it also arises in this way. A woman has had several children all of whom have died soon after birth. This is failure or malevolence on the part of the various ancestors who claimed these children as wards. When her next child is born the father says: "I give this child's life to be watched over by the garbage heap. My ancestors have failed me, for all that my children are good for is to be buried (as babies that die are so buried) in the garbage heap." This is a well tried magical idea, found also elsewhere in West Africa and in many other parts of the world.

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But the majority of open names refer to personal, local, family, historical and such like circumstances at the time of the person's birth. Sometimes a proverb or maxim is aptly turned into a name to suit the event. More usually the father or grandfather invents the name and the allusion may be so personal and obscure that only the family members see it. It is among these names that one finds what corresponds to the literary imagination of the Tallensi wisely, wittily, and often movingly expressed.

So luxuriant is the variety of these names that it is possible to quote only a few from amongst the many hundreds in my notebooks. A rare name is GOMNA. It was borne by the son of a chief's headman. He was born on what was, for the chief and his headmen, a red-letter occasion that came around only once in two or three years, the day on which the Governor paid a visit to the area. So he was named GOMNA, the Tale corruption of "Governor". By contrast, take such a name as NOŋDEM-ZUOYA, literally, poor people abound. This is a proverbial saying used to console someone for a loss, particularly of livestock — as by disease — or other property. The father, in this case, had just suffered such a loss. A similar name is WU'UR-BEMI, literally, the name or renown remains. When the child was born, the father said, he and his brothers were poor and insignificant people. But they had their renown as the descendants of chiefs and as men of good character. Their day would come, he said to himself, quoting the proverbial saying that whatever else might be lacking "the name remains". NA'AB-DIYA, the chief has taken office, was born immediately after his grandfather's election as chief and his name commemorates this event. As he explained to me: "I was born when Kunduzoor had just got his chiefship. He said: *'Na'ab diya*, the chief has taken office. If he is a good chief, he stays in office; if he is a bad chief, he stays in office. Nobody can now deprive him of the chiefship.' " This name, therefore, sums up one of the essential laws of Tale chiefship, the law of the inviolability of chiefship. Once installed a chief cannot be unseated. Na'abdiya had a son called SUH-PUDUMDRA, the heart does not ache. The death of a child had greatly distressed him; but the birth soon afterwards of this son came as a consolation; hence the name.

A very respectable elder had a son of about 25 who bore the name BA-DI-DATA, let them not pull (my ear). When I asked for an explanation there was a burst of hilarity. The youth's father, grinning reminiscently, told the following story. As a young man, being the son of a chief he was a gay spark. Though already married he had an affair with the young wife of a senior chief. At that time the Administration took a serious view of adultery and treated it as a crime. So our friend found himself summoned to answer the charge of adultery and before the very chief whom he had wronged. The penalty was a heavy fine. Now a euphemistic way of talking about a court fine is to call it "tugging" or "twisting the ear" — *daŋg tɔbɔr*, an allusion to a practice sometimes resorted to by irate parents in correcting young children. As it happened, the culprit's wife had just born a son. The fine was announced in court but the wronged chief declared that it was not heavy enough, and demanded that it be increased by a sheep and a pot of beer. At this the culprit protested and begged "let them not twist my ear further". This episode is commemorated in the son's name.

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551 It is entertaining to run through a list of Tale open names if one knows the allusions contained in them. Let me quote a few that are derived from proverbs and are known to everybody, though, of course, only the parents and very close kin of the person know what the exact circumstances were that made the saying apposite.

551 538 The name YAM-PU-YIIT is the first phrase of the proverb "*Yam pu yiit yeŋha, ka be la pooni*". The concept *yam* has a wide ambit of meaning. It means wisdom, prudence, commonsense, intelligence, etc. Here it can be translated "counsel" in the sense we give to this word when we speak of "keeping one's own counsel". The proverb can be rendered "Counsel (i. e. judgments about persons and events) does not come out on the surface; it remains in the heart". In other words, a prudent person keeps his own counsel. The man who gave his daughter this name was feeling aggrieved over the intrigues of a rival, but prudence dictated doing nothing other than obliquely giving out his feelings in the naming of his child. The sentiment is very characteristic of Tale values. Tallensi are anything but submissive in the face of rivalry or scorn; but to be carried away by resentment and to act rashly are thought to be foolish, in such circumstances.

"*Nigəm n-di*" is another characteristic Tale proverb that I came across in a name. It is a good example of the puritan streak in Tale values. It means, more or less literally, "persevere and (you will have enough) to eat", perseverance here carrying the implication of hard work and frugality. It was the name given to his son by a man who was proud of having begun life as a very poor man but of having prospered by hard work and frugality.

A saying reminiscent of our maxim that hard words do not break bones is "*yel pu kura*", literally: "a telling (off) doesn't kill". I knew a youth called YEL-PU-KURA, but did not ascertain why he was so called.

A final example is the name ZAŋ, to seize, take, grasp. This monosyllabic name was the abbreviation of a proverb "*Salənsaa yie, gum zaŋ pu tɔ*", that is, "The ant says, gather together and take hold of it, that is not hard". In other words, a task that is too hard for the individual to accomplish if he is alone can be done with the co-operation of many. This is an exhortation for kin and friends to help one another.

551 And now a few more instances of names that document events in family history and incidents of a personal nature.

DIM-BƆRƏGYA, enmity has vanished, commemorates a reconciliation between the child's father and his father-in-law.

BA-KYEL-MARIB, let them stop being responsible for me, was the name Saandi gave to his first born daughter after he left his father's brother and started to farm for himself.

YAAN-BƆRƏGYA, honour has departed, was the name given to a man after the tendaanaship which his father had held passed, on the latter's death, to another branch of the lineage.

SABAALUG, iron peg, DOK, pot, BAYANA, a species of tree, are names that refer to different kinds of medicine shrines acquired by the fathers at the time the children were born.

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As to the following, their meanings are known but the context of circumstances can only be guessed. 551

N-NYE-FARA, I have seen sorrow; ɔN-TI-WARI, who gives something for nothing? SAɣA-TI-BA, submit to them; ɔN-DIE-Sɔ, he who accepts (humbly) is better; ZI-KIHIB, men who know no taboos; KU-ŋAAŋ-BA, will not overwhelm them; BA-Eŋ-KA-MI, let them do it and find out.

As I have already noted, the same names are used for both males and females, occasionally with a suffix to indicate the sex of the person. But there is one respect in which women's names differ from men's. When they marry they are known in their husband's home only by a nominal form of the name of their natal settlement or clan, never by their given name. The given name is used only when they are at home among their own family and clan. This is one of the ways in which the strict separation of a woman's role in life as wife and mother, on the one hand, and as daughter and sister, on the other, is symbolised. I have described these ideas more fully in *The Dynamics of Clanship*, CH. IX, and in *The Web of Kinship*, CH. IV, and therefore say no more about them here.

One more topic must be briefly discussed. The naming customs I have described all belong to what Tallensi call "conferring names" — *pit wu'uri*. It is clear that names so given do serve very precisely to distinguish individuals. What about the other naming process, the uttering or announcing of names — *pɔt wu'uri*? 553

This takes place whenever a man is elected to a politico-ritual office as a chief (*na'ab*) among Namoo clans or as a tendaana or *bɔyar* officiant among the Talis[11]). The installation ceremonies include a short period of seclusion in a room where the clan and Earth shrines are housed. Then, following the common pattern of such *rites de passage*, the new chief or priest announces the names by which he wishes to be henceforth known. He has put aside his former social personality and the new one he assumes must be symbolised by an appropriate name. From his chamber of seclusion he announces his new names through the elder whose traditional duty it is to proclaim them. As a rule, three names are proclaimed, and as the last is given out the people assembled for the ceremonies shout in acclamation. The new chief or priest then comes out himself. Hereafter it is a taboo for his given name to be mentioned and he goes down to posterity by his new name, or rather by that one of them for which he shows most preference. I might add that it is impressive to see what a profound change a man seems to undergo when he is elected to a politico-ritual office. It is the supreme honour to which a man and all his kin can aspire, the greatest renown that can come to a name. Yet it is also a heavy burden. The new name stands for constant watchfulness and responsibility. Among the Tallensi, these duties are largely expressed in religious concepts and observances, though they are related to vital necessities such as the regularity of rainfall, peace and the absence of disease. To ensure this, chiefs and tendaanas have to keep ritual taboos, make sacrifices to the ancestors, arbitrate honestly in disputes, in short, watch over the welfare of the land and the people. The new names stand for this. 553 622 793

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[11]) See *The Dynamics of Clanship*, passim, for details.

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The Tallensi call these accession names *na'am wu'uri*, chiefship name, or *tendaan wu'uri*, tendaana name, or more generally *saam-wu'uri*, a term colloquially used for what we call nick-names, but meaning the name by which a person is publicly acclaimed. Accession names are, of course, "thought up" by the office-holder elect and so resemble the ordinary open names, which indeed they parallel in function. But they are interesting because they reflect not only the circumstances of the individual's achieving the honour of office, but his ideas about himself, his political role, and his historical position. In the legendary history of Tale clans the names of leaders often sum up the significance of the clan in the total social organisation. Thus an early Gbizug Tendaana is said to have been named GERIBAZAA, to mix all together, a name that well represents the present social and ritual functions of this tendaana as the intermediary between the Namoos and the Talis[12]).

A few examples only are needed to illustrate what I have said. I take, first, some well known chiefs' accession names.

One of the famous chiefs of Tongo was NAMBɔγADA, still crawling. This name was taken by a young chief who announced that he was, as yet, but an infant in chiefship, "still a crawler", but would soon grow up as a chief and do great things. A more recent chief called himself DEŋ-TIES, short for *Deŋ-ties-kunkɔŋ-na'am*, first to think of what to do will not lack a chiefship. He had acted quickly to seek election, before anybody else had thought of it, and implied that this was a promise of how he would act in the future. KU-NDU-ZOOR, cannot climb a hill, was the proud name taken by a chief whom I have previously mentioned. The reference was to the fact that water cannot run up-hill. Had he not excelled his competitors he would have been like water, unable to rise superior to the rest. Alas, his short chiefship was saddened by famine and his successor took to himself the name of NA-LEB-SEUG, it will turn to the rainy season. However long and hard a dry season may seem, he declared, it must give way to the rains at length. Coming after a famine — a long dry season, as it were — he proclaimed himself as the bringer of rain and so of food. The list can be extended but I will give only one more example. The Chief of Tongo, when I was there in 1935—37, had the given name of KPA'AMA, and this is how he is named, in breach of native ideas of propriety, in some Administrative records of the time[13]). His chiefly name was NA-NAAM-BIUŋ, will change into a lake. This is short for *Bul-sɔŋ-na-naam-biuŋ*, a good spring (rising in a small pool) will change into a lake. He meant that he was as yet only a small pool, an inexperienced and young chief, but given time to grow he would change into a lake, a great and beneficent chief — — beneficent, because water, being scarce in Taleland, is thought of as a very valuable thing.

The accession names of tendaanas and other holders of priestly offices follow the same pattern. One tendaana I saw installed proclaimed his new name as DɔγBAZAA, begetter of all. He wished everybody to know that he regarded himself in his new role as the father of all his people, watching over their welfare as a father watches over that of his children.

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[12]) See my previously cited books for details of this division.

[13]) Cf. also RATTRAY, op. cit. vol. II, ch. 33.

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Another tendaana called himself NA-DEŋ-BUGƆLUG, will drop manure. He was comparing himself to a herd of cattle whose coming would bring fertility to the impoverished soil of his clan and so give them more food and well-being. A well known tendaana of former days was called MAAL-BAZAA, he who puts everything right by the proper religious acts.

Naming customs of the kind I have described are found among all the tribes and peoples of Africa. They show with particular clarity, just because the data seem so simple, how fundamental a really good knowledge of a people's language is for a proper understanding of their culture. How deep can the understanding of the culture be if the ethnographer who is studying it does not immediately understand the meaning of the names of the people he is in daily contact with? It can be seen, also, that a name is a document epitomising personal experiences, historical happenings, attitudes to life, and cultural ideas and values.